

AN
ANSWER

TO THE

BRIEF REMARKS

OF

William Berriman, D.D.

Rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft, and
Fellow of Eton College:

ON

CHANDLER'S *Introduction to the
History of the Inquisition.*

In a LETTER to the said Doctor.

By SAMUEL CHANDLER.

num atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum s
et compono, quae mox deponere possam.

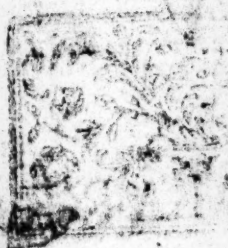
Horat. Epist. l. i.

fracundas, inexorabilis, acer. *Hor. de Arte Poet.*

L O N D O N :

By JOHN GRAY, at the Cross-Keys in the
Poetry, near Cheap-side. 1733.

{Price Six-Pence.}



DE THE KIN

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A N
 S W E R, &c.

I R,

WHAT terrour seized me, when
 I first read the advertisement
 and title of your Pamphlet! I
 had almost said,

eruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.

charge of gross misrepresentations of fact
 me dread my fate, and fear least my
 for the civil and religious liberties of
 and had drawn me into some mistakes,
 y to the truth of history. But I soon

found that your title page was the worst
had to fear ; and notwithstanding the
reproaches thrown on me my panick
left me, and to my pleasure I saw I
to do with an impotent, though angry
verfary.

You are I think exceeding unhappy
the beginning and end of your performance.
You set out with a charge, which I
sure is not true, and conclude with something
that looks exceedingly like a confession
and out of the same christian disposition
sweetness of temper, you inform your
reader that I have *partially represented his*
disguised and colour'd ancient authors, pro-
out what I like though but ill supported,
on every invidious circumstance, drop or
press what might set it in a proper light,
my aim is to blacken and throw dirt, Pa-
that I am a crocodile, who first kill a man
then weep over him, that I give scraps of
tations, that venerable assemblies have
scaped the rancor of my pen, p. 3. that
comment is portentous, p. 15. that my reflections
are invidious, p. 18. that I am destitute of
genuity, p. 20. that my turns are ill-natur'd
p. 21. that I am partial and sophistical,
that I am not ashamed with the virulency
pen to put the noble confessors to fresh to
p. 26. that I grossly abuse my readers,
that I mix fiction and partiality, p. 50.
neither truth nor honesty can be expected
me, p. 56. that I am arrived to such an
of malice and love of calumny that the most
absurd and incredible charge shall stick,

I have not a spark of ingenuity, or real
 life of honour, p. 61. and finally in a pro-
 scribed manner, that the memory of the just
 [and] will be blessed, when the name of the
 wicked [Chandler] shall rot. I could not
 help putting together these Ecclesiastical
 powers, which you have presented to the
 world, as a specimen of your good manners
 and charity; and though when I first heard
 of your intentions to animadvert upon my
 introduction, I expected a treatment worthy
 of your character as a scholar and divine, yet
 I have been disappointed in both these re-
 spects, you must pardon me if I treat you
 without ceremony, and pay the less com-
 pliment to your profession and titles. To
 begin then.

You tell your reader, *that 'tis plainly* P. 1.
Mr. C's design, under the odious name of per-
secution, to decry and vilify all legal Establish-
ments of Religion. But did Mr. C. ever tell
 so? or were you ever in the inside of
 his heart? If not, you should not have be-
 gun with an assertion that Mr. C. knows
 in his power to convince, I will not say
 you, but all the equitable part of mankind
 the untruth of. I have indeed written
 against persecution. But doth this vilify
 legal Establishments? Are then all legal
 establishments inseparably attended with per-
 secution? If not, my writing against the
 former is no proof that my intention was to
 vilify the former. I have also very freely
 exposed all ecclesiastical tyranny, and de-
 clared against setting up the priests as Lords
 of

of the heritage, and making them kings in the room of the Son of God; because whenever they have had their desired power, their language hath been, *Up Israel to prey; and their practice, to execute punishment upon the people, to bind their Kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron.* Against such tyrannical proceedings, against such imperious priests, I will ever protest, with a pen to write, and liberty to declare my sentiments. But what is there in all this to vilify all legal Establishments? Point out a single passage of my introduction from whence this can be inferred, as you would not be esteem'd a false accuser. If an Establishment was made upon my good Lord *London's foundation**, upon such a fixed and plain uniform rule of faith and practice, could be embraced by all denominations of Christians; I know not a single dissenter in the land that would be against it; and that an establishment is practicable his Lordship hath abundantly demonstrated, and actually laid down the very rule itself, a rule which he tells us, the several denominations of Christians do actually agree in. Now the nearer any establishment comes to this, the nearer it comes to perfection, and was it not a legal establishment to take place, no reasonable men would refuse to enter into it. So that your two observations in favour of legal Establishments shall remain in their full force, especially as I shall leave you in the

* Second Pastoral Letter, p. 24, 25.

cession of scarce any thing else, besides
your reproaches, throughout your whole
pamphlet.

After this you prepare your reader, by
many invectives against me, to expect a full
triumph over me, and tell him, you doubt p. 4.
to convince every equitable reader, that
whatever opinion we are to entertain of *M^r C's*
abilities, it must be with great abatement in
view of Candour and ingenuity.

To the first instance I appeal, who hath
said. I say Bishop *Alexander* was offended
by the novelty of the expressions of *Arius*,
and not able to bear such an opposition from
the of his presbyters to his own principles.
The first of these assertions you qualify,
the latter you deny. As to the first, I did
not say, it was merely the novelty of the
phrase, as you put it, that gave offence,
and so far your observation is impertinent;
not only that the novelty did; which I need
not prove, since you have not opposed it. As
to the latter, you say, it is an addition of p. 4-5.
of his own, without any grounds in the *Histo-*
ry; and that they nowhere tell us that he
was of an high spirit, and impatient of contra-
diction. But whether this be an addition of
or not, without any grounds, let the
following passage decide: "A certain
presbyter who had ingratiated himself
with *Constantia*, told her freely and com-
plained that *Arius* was unjustly banished,
and excommunicated through the hatred
and private enmity of *Alexander*; for
that he was moved with envy against him
" for

“ for his great reputation amongst the
 “ ple * ; ” an evident intimation of his
 spirit and impatience of contradiction.
 must however own to you that this pres-
 ter is said to be a favourer of *Arius* ; but
 the terms *Arian* and *Liar*, *Orthodoxy*
Truth, are not always equivalent, you
 must excuse me from believing, like you
 self, always on one side ; and especially from
 rejecting the evidence of this presbyter, who
 appears to have been a man of reputation
 and virtue, by the honour he had of *Con-*
stantia’s friendship and confidence. A
 further proof of this prelate’s imperiousness
 and impatience of contradiction is this, that
 after he had heard the dispute between *A-*
rius and others, in the council he collected
 for this purpose, and agreed himself to the doc-
 trine of the *Consubstantiality*, he commanded
Arius to be of the same mind †. This
 imperiousness with a vengeance. But because
Arius could not, the Bishop immediately
 excommunicates him. Would you have
 a fuller proof of his impatience of con-
 diction ?

* Πρεσβυτερος τις — επιερρησιασαλο πρεσβυτερος
 και κατεμεμνηστο, μη δικαιως Αρειον την πα-
 ρουσιαν — δια φόβον και ιδίας εχθρας εν
 δυνάμει παρα Αλεξανδρου — ευδοκιμουντα γαρ, εφη,
 οτι τω πληθει ορων αυτον εηλοβουτησεν. Soz. p.
 Edit. Mogunt.

† Τον Αρειον ομοιωσ ορενειν εκελευσε. Sozom.
 427.

* Soz.

I should now have dismissed this article, only that I am willing to set you right in a passage of *Sozomen*, which you have taken. You say the historians tell us, p. 4. *Arius had been excommunicated for siding with the Melitian faction before Alexander came to the See.* But *Sozomen* whom you cite says, doth not say so. His account is that *Arius* had once sided with the *Melitian* party, but that he afterwards forsook it and was ordained Deacon by *Peter Bishop of Alexandria*; and that he was excommunicated by *Peter*, not for siding with *Melitians*, but for reproving *Peter* upon account of excommunicating the *Melitians*, rejecting their baptism. Now it is no consequence that because a person disapproves of methods of severity towards others, therefore he sides with them. *Arius* did not then be one of them, because he actually left them, and was a Deacon of the *Alexandrian* church, from which *Arius* with his followers had divided. Whether or no *Arius* was of a turbulent temper, as you represent him, I leave others to judge. I think *Alexander* at least as criminal in this respect as he, especially as he excommunicated him, and all the clergy were of his opinion; and wrote letters to the Bishops every where not to communicate with those who favoured him, though some of them were venerable for the sanctity of their lives. * Hence, says

B the

* *Sozom.* p. 427.

the historian, *they grew more eager and on both sides, and the contention, as usual came greater.* * In the written confession which *Arius* afterwards delivered to *Constantine*, I am sure he speaks like a lover of peace; for after giving an account of his faith he says: Therefore we beseech thy Piety, that since we hold the faith of the Church and the Holy Scriptures, we may be again united to our Mother the Church, *that controversies being taken away, and unnecessary disputes which arise from us and the church may be at peace with each other.* As to his opposing the Bishop *Alexander* for revenge for his disappointment, at being promoted to the see of *Alexandria*, he has no authority for it but *Theodorit*, who appears to be an enemy to *Arius*, and therefore as incompetent a witness against him as you think an *Arian* against one of the *Orthodox*. The account of *Socrates* is quite different, and much more probable. He tells us †, that *Arius's* opposition to the Bishop was occasioned, by his apprehending that the Bishop taught the opinion of *Origen*. *Constantine* also in his letter to *Alexander* and *Arius* dates the rise of the controversy from *Alexander's* making a distinction into his presbyters sentiments on the pertinent questions; and to *Arius's* indiscreetly speaking of things he ought not to have thought of ||. Now whether *Theodorit*

* Sozom. p. 485.

† Socrat. p.

|| Euseb. Vit. Constant. l. 2. c. 69.

single testimony is to be preferred to the account given by *Socrates* and the Emperor, I submit to every impartial person to determine.

The next fault you find with me is, that P. 5. have not translated right the words *αὐτὸς ὁ θεός*. To which all I have to answer is, that the words will bear my translation as well as yours, and your translation and mine agree in sense; for if *God is always, and a Son always*, then it is true, *God is ever God and ever a Son*; and I doubt not but you allow it to be sound divinity to say, that *God is ever a Father and ever a Son*. But I will not contend with you about this.

As to the explications you give about p. 7. *γεννητός* and *αγεννητός*, and such hard words, I have little concern about them; and shall only say, that if you can give any real sense of *αγεννητός*, *unbegotten*, or *ungeneratedly generated*, i. e. *generated and not begotten, generated and not begotten*, I am ready to be convinced.

Eris mihi magnus Apollo.

Alexander used these words to guard against mistakes, he took in my opinion a wrong method. For how mistakes can be guarded against by nonsense and contradiction, is much above my poor comprehension.

when you add that whatever might be p. 2.
under's meaning in a particular expression,

it was not for disapproving it that Arius censured; I must tell you that Arius expresses the contrary in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia. These are his words, * I put you in mind that the Bishop greatly torments and persecutes us, and moves every weapon against us; so that he hath persecuted us in the city as Atheists, because we do not agree with him, when he says in publick among other things ἀγνιστογενὲς unbegottenly be-
You Sir may refuse for all that I know evidence, though I confess I am so unfortunate, as not to believe that every thing Arius says is false, and every thing Alexander affirms is true.

p. 8.

Your next remark is upon the second words μεσσημεσθαι οὐσις, a middle nature rendered it: You say the Bishop could not mean, a distinct Hypostasis or Person from the Father. But I think this could not possibly be his meaning. The whole passage runs thus: "The unskilful say, "one of these two things must be, "that the Son is out of nothing, "that there are two unbegotten things, "principles; being ignorant what the difference there is between the unbegotten Father, and the things created out of nothing, both rational and irrational."

* Οτι μεγαλως ημας εκπορθε και εκδιωκει ταλα καλον λινει καθ' ημων ο επισκοπος και εκδιωξει ημας εκ της πολεως ως αιθερος, επαιδην η συμερωνμεν αυτω δυναστατην αγνηνηγενους επι. Theod. E. H. c.

tional; between both which, viz. God and his creatures, is the only begotten nature. * The argument is this, that it both not follow either that the Son is out of nothing, or unbegotten, because the Son is a middle nature between the unbegotten Father and the things produced by him out of nothing. This is something like sense, whereas if we translate it in your way it will appear otherwise, and run thus: The only begotten person is a middle person between the person of the unbegotten Father, and the person of things created by him out of nothing. It is not therefore so very extraordinary that I should mention this as an instance of the Bishop's agreement with *Arius*, because if *Arius* said, what you cannot disprove, that the Son was neither part of God, nor out of any other thing that did exist, it must follow that *Arius* thought what *Alexander* affirmed, that the only begotten nature of the Son was a middle nature, between the unbegotten God, and the things produced by him out of nothing.

Thus we have dismissed the article relating to the Bishop. Now for his presbyter. p. 10.

As to him, with your usual impartiality,

Arius

Δουιν πατερες λεγοντες δειν ειναι οι αποιδευστοι
 εκ οντων αυτον ειναι φερονται, η παντως αση-
 λεγον δυο. αγνοουντες οι ανασκητοι, ως
 αν ειη μελαξυ πατερος αγεννητου και των χλι-
 στων αυτου εξ εκ οντων, λογικων τε και αλο-
 γων μεμιτουμενα φυσικα μονογενης. Theod. p.

p. 10.

Arius must be wrong, and *Alexander* right because, since the *Alexandrian* council condemned *Arius*, it must be concluded, that he had personally asserted those positions which are charged upon him; or at least we can suspect any partiality in the council of *Nice*. You are greatly mistaken in both in opinion. I do not only suspect them, but charge them, with notorious partiality. *Arius* was a better judge of his own opinions than either of them, and he expressly denies the most invidious charges they were fasten on him, both in his letter to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and in that confession of faith which he presented to the Emperor, and actually swore to his belief of. *Sozomen* and *Sozomen* indeed say that the council of *Nice* carefully examined into his assertions; but not one word that he publicly owned the tenets imputed to him by that council. This the presbyter before mentioned actually denied, assuring *Constantia* that the council of *Nice* had injured him, and that he would not think as was reported of him. † Therefore till better proof, I am at liberty still to believe that they were the council's inferences, and not the assertions of *Arius*. Yea *Sozomen* seems to speak decisively of this matter himself; for after he had been reckoning up some of the most obnoxious opinions ascribed to him, he says *Κτισμα και ποιημα και αλλα πολλα α λεγει* which it is probable he said.

* *Soz.* p. 485.† *Soc.* p. 60.‖ *Soz.* p. 426.

You farther tell me, that you cannot p. 12.

understand by what rules of grammar Mr. C.

translates ἀγεννητός γὰρ ἐκ νῦν, there never
was a time when he was unbegotten. Mr. C.

is not answerable for your want of under-
standing. Perhaps he never intended a li-

teral translation, but to express what he ap-
prehended to be his sense. And I imagine

he hath expressed it right. For the words
seem to be made use of in opposition to the

word ἀγεννητογενής, and to denote that
he was before all ages perfect and un-

changeable God, so he was always begot-
ten. For thus he says, before he was be-

gotten, or made, or appointed, or found-
ed, he was not; immediately subjoyning

ἀγεννητός γὰρ ἐκ νῦν, for he was not unbe-
gotten, i. e. before he was begotten or

made, &c. i. e. there never was a time
when he was unbegotten; and I think no-

thing can be plainer to a man that hath
understanding than this, that if Christ

was not before he was begotten, there never
was a time when he was unbegotten.

As to your suspicions that Arius used the p. 13.

expressions πρὸ χρόνων, ἀναλλὰ λαίωτος, &c. in
aasive manner, I shall say nothing to

disprove them. Suspicions are endless and deserve
no reply. I shall only add, that Arius ap-

pears to be uniform and consistent in his
opinion, and that there doth not seem any

like reserve or evasion in his confes-
sion.

But I will not be answerable for all
his followers.

But

But what shall we do with the portentous comment? Would any one, say you, suppose it possible for the wit of man, to make two propositions: The Son was not before he was begotten, i. e. he was from before all ages the begotten Son of God, *ex eo* of one another. Yes. The wit of half a man can do it, that looks upon the connection of the words in Arius's letter. His first words are, *ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀγεννητός*, The Son is unbegotten. And the last are just the same. If then he *was not unbegotten*, he was I have boldly conceive the begotten Son of God. So there is no portentosity in my comment. But how shall I come off about the words *before all ages*? Why Arius will help me here too. For in the middle of his confession he says it expressly, that he was *ἡγεῖν καὶ ἀρῶν*, before all times and ages. So that the portentosity is not in my comment. A comment upon any proposition may be just and regular, if the comment contain the true sense of the proposition, though there should be some additions to explain it, especially if the addition be from the Author commented on. If you add, that I could not decently own the true meaning, and therefore invented another, I shall only tell you, that I think I have no end to answer by concealing the true meaning, and that if I know myself I dare own the truth wherever I find it, though a church or an enemy should tell it me; and even if I were in an error when convinced of it.

and accordingly I allow you, that the p. 16.
 of *Eusebius* you refer to in the next
 book, do not literally signify the *rise and*
of the affair as I rendered them; but
 that he had diligently examined, or as
 will have it considered the rise of it.
σκοπεῖν signifies seriously and carefully
 consider or think of, *i. e.* to examine a
 thing; and *ἀρχή* signifies the rise or be-
 ginning of any thing. So that my transla-
 tion is true; that *Constantine* had dili-
 gently examined the rise of the affair. And
 he had as diligently examined the Pro-
 position it is as true, though the particular
 referred to doth not mention it:
 thus any one may see who will read
 the whole letter, as recorded by the
 author. In the mean time I pity the
 reader who is so bare of subject matter of re-
 marks as to take notice of such trifles.

of somewhat more importance what p. 16:
 that *Eusebius* and *Constantia*, who
 friends of *Arius*, influenced *Constantine*
 in that strain of neutrality, as you
 in his letter to *Alexander*. I know
 there is no sin greater in the opi-
 nions of some men than this same neutrality;
 others who place religion in prac-
 tice not in mere orthodoxy as to dis-
 crepancies, and with whom modera-
 tion and forbearance are christian virtues,
 I give them leave to think, that
 they were the advisers of that excellent
 C letter,

letter, they were wise and prudent and that the advice itself was, as *Eusebius* it, ἀναγκασιότατον, most necessary and nable *; and that if *Hofius* and others inspired the Emperour with other sentiments and persuaded him to attempt the heresy by persecution instead of arguing they so far abused their interest in, he were enemies to the church of God how will you prove that *Constantia* early the friend of *Arius*, as to have in writing this letter to *Alexandria* the letter was previous to the council whereas *Constantia* doth not appear to have had any favourable opinion of *Arius* considerably after, by means of one of the mystick chaplains. And even he openly profess his sentiments, nor to persuade her to embrace any of the peculiar opinions of *Arius*, † but only because he was unjustly used by the council, and not entertain the opinions common to the church. And in this she believed her chaplain assured her of. And she was all she endeavoured to persuade her brother *Constantine* † is evident in his dying words to him, in which she expressed her apprehensions of his being without some judgment, because he had been persuaded by certain persons unjustly.

* De Vita Const. l. 2. c. 63.

† Η δίκη δὲ τὴν φασκὼν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς συνουσίας αὐτῆς περὶ αὐτῆς λόγῳ κατέχευε. Soc. Theod. p. 70.

† Soz. p. 484

special banishment men that were right-
 and good, viz. men who were falsely
 sed by the council of opinions they did
 hold. So that as it doth not appear
Constantia was in *Arius's* sentiments, it p. 5.
 furd to imagine she perswaded the Em-
 per to write in a neutral strain; espec-
 'tis not probable that she had any
 able opinion of him till a considera-
 me after the letter was written. Nor
 it appear to have been written merely
 influence of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*; no,
 whilst the Emperour was at *Nicomedia*,
 affirm, but as he was going from that
 towards the East. For *Constantine* himself
 towards the close of his letter, " Ha-
 been lately at the city of *Nicomedia*, p. 7.
 immediately determined to go into the
 And as I was now hastening to
 and had travelled the greater part
 the journey to you, the news of this
 was brought to me, and made me
 my mind." A plain intention that
 not at *Nicomedia* when he wrote it.
 at he wrote it not by the influence
 'us, but that of *Hosius* himself, seems
 to me, because it is certain *Hosius*,
 the Emperour greatly loved and ho-
 was present with him, and the
 C 2 person

ναις τῇ Νικομηδεῶν πόλει—σπευ-
 στες υμᾶς ἡδ' ἡ, καὶ τῷ πλείονι μέρει
 τι, ἢ τὰς τὴν πραγματικὴν ἀγγελίαν,
 μάλιν τὸν λογισμὸν ἀνεχαιτέσθην—P. 2.
 μὲν λοιπὸν—τὴν εἰς τὴν οἶον. Σπρ.

person employed by him to carry it
Alexander and *Arius*.

p. 17.

I agree with you that the Emperour
not afterwards look upon the contro
a matter of small importance. But w
it that made him alter his opinion?
the Bishops, Sir. The persecuting
cal Bishops at *Nice*. They anathe
and damned their adversaries, and
the poor Emperour to banish and
them. They gave him an exam
banishing *Arius* from *Alexandria*.
thinks pity his Majesty had not
proved of another project almost
on by this venerable assembly, op
but one person as *Sozomen* * info
viz. That the Bishops and Presby
Deacons and Subdeacons should
with their wives, which they had
before their consecration. What
Holy Ghost depart in this point
Holy Synod, and rest only on
tius?

p. 18.

As to the reflection which I ma
the orthodox first brought in the
ment of heresy with death, you
both *invidious* and *very extraordinary*
it is not *invidious* because it is
though you nibble at my auth
cannot dispute it. It is an infamy
thing can wash them clean from;
posing it was only made *in terrore*
was an execrable and tyrannical

* Soz. p. 437. Socrat. p. 39.

as the orthodox burnt the writings of the
 Arians, it is impossible for you to prove,
 that the Emperour, and they by whose
 persuasions he made it, never put it in exe-
 cution. They did proceed to burning of
 books, and to damnation and banishments
 of mens persons. And what could hinder
 such men, when they had the power, from
 proceeding even to death? God Almighty
 of his infinite Mercy grant that the clergy
 may never have the same power intrusted
 with them, in these free and happy king-
 doms. The use they have made of it will
 never be forgotten.

You say, that it is *not the matter of your
 present inquiry, how far the establishment of* P. 17.
*religion by penal laws and sanctions, is to be
 justified, and when it deserves to be branded
 with the odious name of persecution.* But as I
 had charged the orthodox with first bringing
 in the punishment of heresy with death,
 surely it could not have been improper to
 have passed some censure on so cursed and
 diabolical a practice, had you been against
 it. No. You intirely drop it, and seem
 rather to vindicate the thing itself, by cal-
 ling my reflection invidious and extraordi-
 nary; because, as you say, it amounts to
 this, *that the first christian emperor being on
 the orthodox side, his laws, and the penalties
 enforcing them, were on the same side also.*
 though those laws and penalties were
 just; or ever the better for being on the
 side of Orthodoxy. But I wonder a man
 of your sagacity should not have perceived
 that

that I had a quite different intention in the observation; viz. to shew that the orthodox first set up the trade of ecclesiastical butchery, and let loose that outrageous devil of persecution even to death, which afterwards spread such desolations in the Church of God, which one cannot read without trembling, nor relate without horror.

p. 18.

I have only one thing more to observe on this article, which is that it is surprising to me, that any man who hath read the ecclesiastical historians with any the least care, should affirm as you do, that the sanguinary law against those who should conceal any of Arius's books is mentioned only by Sozomen, when it is not only related by Socrates, but the very Imperial rescript itself given us at large by him, of which this is the conclusion. "This therefore I join, that if any one shall be found to conceal any writings of Arius, and shall not immediately bring it, and burn it in the fire, his punishment shall be death." For as soon as ever he shall be found guilty of this fault he shall undergo a capital punishment.* You give me large occasions of triumph, but I will spare you, only putting you in mind, that you are the most unfit person in the world to charge others with gross misrepresentations of fact.

Fre

* Επειὶ μὲν οἱ ἀπαγορευόμενα τὰ αὐτὰ διατάσσονται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πᾶσι χρεῖται γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν ὑποσημαίνουσαν τιμωρίαν. Soc. E. II. p. 39

From the Emperour we pass to the famous Council of Nice; and your first remark is, that I throw dirt on the most venerable assembly of men that ever met since the days of the apostles; which remark I do not think to be a very cleanly one. I have already proved them to be an assembly of persecutors, and well-wishers, most of them, to that infamous superstition of priestly concubacy; which hath, I am apprehensive, been the occasion of more adulteries, rapes, prostitutions, and leudnesses of all kinds, than have ever been practiced in the publick stews. I have also proved from several authors, even those who speak the most favourably of them, such as *Eusebius*, *Theodorit*, *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, that some were drawn to this council through the hopes *ταυ αγαδου* of worldly profit, which consist on to be the true sense of *τα αγαδα*; though I will allow you to translate it good, if you please, if you will do me the same favour, by allowing what I have a thousand instances to prove, that the clergy generally count those the best days in which they obtain the greatest power and riches; and others of them came to see such a miracle of an Emperour, others of them, to negotiate their own private affairs, to redress their grievances, to prosecute their enemies, and to be revenged of them. I have proved from the same author, that some of them were of a quarrelling malicious temper, and acted with a spirit of rancour and bitterness; and that as soon as they met together

together they began with mutual reproach and accusations, and endeavoured to inflame the Emperour against each other, and were hardly brought to the work of creating by the influence of his authority. I have also represented that their enemies charge them with being generally a set of very ignorant men, and destitute of knowledge and learning. As the very friends of this council allow of most these charges I thought myself obliged impartially to present them; and if we had the representation of those who were enemies to it, and injured by it, I doubt not but they would appear in a much worse light than they at present. The mention of these things you call *throwing dirt*, and with the violence of my pen putting those noble confessions to fresh torture. But I have tortured none that were true confessors, nor suppressed the testimony of the historians in their favour. I allowed you that they tell some were remarkable for their gravity, patience under sufferings, modesty, integrity, eloquence and other virtues. Would you have more? I suppose you would have had me *ingenuously suppressed* the evidence that there were others of a very different character, and been of the same mind with *Constantine**, who charitably declared, that if he saw a Bishop commit adultery, he would cover the foul act with his purple, that it might give no

p. 26.

to the beholders. But I am not yet
 convinced it is my duty to conceal the
 faults of the clergy, when I am writing
 history, and cannot allow that ortho-
 odoxy any more than heresy should be a cover
 for guery and wickedness; and therefore
 I own all my authorities to be good, I
 only make two or three remarks upon
 observations on the council of Nice.
 Then I charge some of this council with
 going to negotiate their own private affairs,
 to redress their grievances, and be re-
 laxed of their enemies, you cry out, *Partial* p. 23.
sophistical again! and sophistically en-
 deavour to soften this conduct, by transla-
 ting the words of *Sozomen*, Many of the
 came as it were to contend, &c. But
 this daubing wont stick. *Sozomen* ho-
 nours them upon the foot of other af-
 fairs; and says that this was like others.
 οἷον γινεσθαι, i. e. according to com-
 mon custom, or as it generally happens, so
 many of the priests came together earnest-
 ly to contend,* or as though they had nothing
 to do but earnestly to contend about
 their own affairs; and the reason he gives
 is, because they imagined they had now
 opportunity to redress their grievances,
 because they had such a miracle of an
 emperor, who had been so condescending
 to them. So far you cite the hi-
 story yourself. But why did you suppress
 the following? I will supply your defects.

D

The

The historian immediately subjoins: “V
 “ ever matters any one had to accus
 “ others of, he delivered in his libel
 “ Emperour, in which he gave an ac
 “ of all the injuries that were done
 “ And this was their custom almost
 “ day.* ” So that here was no *as it*
 but real spleen and enmity and the sp
 revenge. It was the first work they we
 and what they brought on the carpet
 day, and what therefore *many of the*
 must have had most at heart, and came
 cipally for. As to *Eusebius*, from
 you say in the page, I did not rela
 account, and in the margin that I did
 not one jot more favourable to them,
 it invidiously related. His words are,
 “ they began to accuse those who sa
 “ them; they made their defences
 “ criminated, and that many things
 “ urged on one side and the other,
 “ altercations happened in the begi
 “ and that it was not till after a gre
 “ of pains and patience that at la
 “ Emperor reconciled them. ”
 that accusations, apologies, recrimi
 defences, &c. | was the first work
 upon by this holy synod, and argue
 of them to be men of passionate, c
 some and revengeful spirits; which
 you pass by under the charge of
frailty, the Scripture calls by a
 name, and declares to be *the wise*

p. 24.

* Soz. p. 430.

† De Vita Constantini, l. 3. c. 13.

is from beneath, which is earthy, sensual,
worldly.

In the same page you are exceeding angry p. 24.

with me for my quotation from *Theodoret*.

without reason. I grant you that he

with speak in favour of this council; nor

I ever deny it. But yet he says some

of them were subtle and crafty, and of a

careless malicious temper. This he

reports of those *Arians* who were of the coun-

Lib. i. c. 7. and intimates the same thing

of some of the Orthodox, Lib. i. c. 11. His

words are these: "I do not think it just

to pass it over in silence that there were

men † who were full, or lovers of en-

mity, who accused some of the Bishops,

and delivered in their libels of accusation

to the Emperor." The thing was too

honourable to be quite omitted, though pru-

dence directed him to conceal the numbers,

he speak as softly as he could of their

quarrels, and mutual hatreds. And I put

the two chapters together in the quotation,

that my reader might see I was impartial.

After a review of this whole matter,

as many proofs at least of subtleness

craftiness, of malice and revenge in the

heretical party, as in the *Arian*, of which

the frequent alterations of the Creed, and

the treatment of their adversaries are an

abundant demonstration.

You farther add, under this article, that p. 26.

Candler is wrong in representing them to

C 2

have

καταχρηστικῶς ἀνδρες ἐγγράφῳ τῶν πρὸς
 τινάς. Theod. p. 36.

have begun to accuse each other, after the
 peror had exhorted them to peace. It is
 that Mr. C. must never be right; but
 some satisfaction to him, that *Eusebius*,
 lived some years before him, gives just
 same account as he doth. Pray good
 let us consult him. *Eusebius* then tells
 that after *Constantine* entered into the
 where the council met, he made an ora
 to them, in which he tells them, that
 had heard of their differences, was how
 glad to see them together, and should o
 his wishes, could he see them united togeth
 their minds, and one common agreement a
 them all. This, says he, you who are
 crated to God ought to be the ministers
 others. After this he passionately besee
 them to remove all causes of their mutua
 ferences, all intricate matters of contenti
 the laws of peace.* Is not this an exhort
 to peace? Well, what was the imme
 consequence? I am ashamed to tell
 you force me, Sir. Why as soon as
 he had done, and gave them liber
 speech, they began to accuse one ano
 and broke out into many contentions†.
 ly you will allow me for once to be i
 right.

p. 27. As to *Sabinus's* charge I allowed you
 was an heretick. This with you makes
 a reason for never believing him, but
 no others but those of your own com

* De Vita Constantini, l. 3. c. 12.

† Id. Ibid. c. 13.

and though *Eusebius* was a learned
 man, yet it doth not therefore follow, that
 one of the rest were ignorant and unlearn-
 ed, and as *Sabinus* appeals to *Eusebius* for
 the truth of this that many of them were so,
 are you sure that the same orthodox, who
 sent the writings of the *Arians*, have sup-
 plied no part of the character given by
Eusebius of the persons who composed this
 council? Or do you believe in your con-
 science, that out of so great a number as
 were together at *Nice*, there were no *Yea and*
Nay men, who followed the majority and
 acted as they were bid? I shall only add,
 when *Socrates* argues *ex bypotbesi*, that
 they were a set of ignorant illiterate men,
 that they were enlightned by the Holy Ghost,
 so could not err from the truth, it is a
 sort of an allowance that they were not
 of them overburthened with learning
 or knowledge. For what need of inspi-
 ration if they had knowledge enough with-
 out it? If they were inspired, it must be
 because they did not understand those things
 which they received the knowledge of by
 the illumination. Of consequence the
 saying them to be inspired is a confession
 of their ignorance; and my representing it
 as such is no misrepresentation of my
 subject, nor an abuse of my readers.
 There are many pages which follow which
 in the least affect the truth of my hi-
 story and in which therefore I have no con-
 cern and therefore I shall only make one
 observation upon them, that if the
 council

council had intended the peace of the church they ought to have made the creed as broad and extensive as they could, and not to have inserted the most exceptionable phrases which could invent, as they actually did, which with all your winding and twisting you have not disproved.

I now proceed to Page 40. In which you give us an instance of your skill in criticism and another of your knowledge in history. I had asserted that the creed was altered and amended. You learnedly answer *there was no alteration made in the doctrine of the creed, but only some explications added.* As though the addition of several explanations was no alteration of the creed. Again I had affirmed, that five Bishops were pleased with the word *Consubstantial*, made many objections against it. You reply, that of the five Bishops our authorities there were only three at most that signed the *Consubstantiality*, and that the two, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theodorus of Nice did actually subscribe it, and objected the *Anathema's* subjoined. This you well perceives the contempt with which you treat him, but he gives you now to understand, that he cannot imagine who stand upon burning your fingers by dabbles in ecclesiastical history; and he affirms there were five Bishops, viz. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Ceredon; Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, who would not subscribe the word *Consubstantial*, and that among

two of them, viz. *Eusebius* of *Nicomede-*
and Theognis of *Nice* were actually ban-
 ished for it. Let *Socrates* determine be-
 tween your knowledge and veracity as an
 historian and mine. His words are: " Five
 only would not receive the creed, finding
 fault with the word *consubstantial*, (viz.
 the five just mentioned) for they said the
 word *consubstantial* must mean, that which
 is from another, either by division, or
 fluxion, or projection. By projection,
 as a twig from its roots; or by fluxion,
 as children from the father; or by divi-
 sion, as two or three gold vessels from
 the same mass. But the Son is like nothing
 of these things; and therefore they said
 that they would not give their assent to
 this faith, and therefore scoffing greatly
 at the word *consubstantial*, they would not
 subscribe to the deposition of *Arius*—
 And therefore by a mandate of the Em-
 perour, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were ban-
 ished. Upon this *Eusebius* and *Theognis*
 a little while after their banishment, de-
 livered an instrument of their repentance,
 signifying their agreement with the faith
 of the consubstantiality. " * Here, Sir,
 I give evidence of my assertion, and if this
 in a proper place I could easily reconcile this
 with the seemingly different one gi-
 ven by *Sozomen*. You may see by this how lit-
 eral positiveness becomes any writer, especially
 in an affair in which he allows there is some
 perplexity.

P. 43.

perplexity. It is true, they say in their niential letter to the Emperour, that *agreed and subscribed to the faith, but not Anathema*, * not, as you affirm, that actually had subscribed; or pleaded subscription to the Consubstantiality; that they did refuse to subscribe it at and were banished for it, the evidence *Socrates* is plain and full.

P. 41.

The next thing you complain of is, *there is a sort of men with whom illna suspicions will pass for plain demonstration*, cause I say that *Constantine* saw into tempers, &c. Had what I said been founded on mere suspicion, you might have said it was illnatured. But sure all and impartial judges will allow, that *Constantine* had been himself witness to quarrels, and mutual accusations, and vengeful spirit, his advice to them at ing was founded not on suspicion only, plain demonstration. *But what could author mean by that sneering expression of filling their pockets?* Why he meant by what he thought you would not have angry with, *That he filled their pockets*, he τοῖς περὶ σὺν καὶ δωρεῖς ἐτίμησεν, † hono them with proper gifts, or as *Eusebius* μεγαλοψυχῶς ἐκασον—τίμων ἐνίοις, † he nificently honoured every one with pre And as I found fault neither with the or the presents, why should you, or w is the sneer of mentioning it? Had

* Soc. p. 43, 44. † Soz. p. 438.

† Euseb. Vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 16.

often, and met together for no account but feasting. I think they have done much less mischief, than did by hatching creeds, and coyning words, which they themselves never how to explain, and which others not understand. So that I hope you do not think me so heterodox for the sake as to imagine that I am an enemy to castings of the clergy.

On the whole I shall conclude this with Mr. *Limborch's* account of this synod. "Such was the fierce and restless spirit of the Bishops met together at *Nice*, so many and bitter their contentions, that forgetting the principle of their meeting together, they only presented accusations against each other to the Emperor. — Who can believe that an assembly of men, inflamed with passion and mutual hatred, and nothing nothing but revenge, would be contented with procuring only the condemnation of their hated enemies, and not use their utmost endeavours to oblige the Emperor to banish those whom they had condemned?" Strange that the most venerable assembly that ever met since the days of popes, as you call them! What is *Limborch's* way of throwing dirt on the characters of men to be no more than mine? I am in pain

E for

for his character of the blessed M
Laud.

P. 43.

Your next article is *Eusebius*, under
you say, it is due to him in common
that his reasonings should be fully stated;
ing, he doth not mean, that all use of un-
scriptural words would occasion differences, but
those in particular used by *Arius*. Suppose
this to be true, where is the pertinence
this remark, or how doth it affect my
argument? I expressly say, that the an-
thema forbids only the unscriptural words
Arius; and my argument is, that
introducing the unscriptural words of
had occasioned differences and disturbance
and therefore ought to be rejected; in
manner the unscriptural words of the
dox ought for the same reason to have
rejected, because they were the occasion
as many differences and disturbances.
do you weaken the force of this argu-
ment you can. I must therefore still insist
the behaviour of *Eusebius* was inconsistent
in rejecting the unscriptural words of
party, and adopting the unscriptural
of the other; especially as he knew
word *consubstantial* was an exceeding dis-
tinction, and as to the meaning of which
very Bishops could not agree, even
they had agreed to insert it into
creed. *

Next to *Eusebius* comes your hero
Nestorius, whom you seem to think as u

* See Soc. E. H. p. 58.

ly accused as our blessed Saviour himself,
 and to have always worn a spotless robe of
 innocence. I had said, that he was accused
 by the Emperor by many Bishops and Cler-
 gemen, who declared themselves orthodox,
 being the Author of all the seditions in
 the Church. You reply, *Yes, his accusers* p. 44.
such as declared themselves orthodox; and
 that you have to object against them is
 that they were *schismatics*, and bitter ene-
 mies to *Athanasius*. What then? Can a
 schismatic never be orthodox in the faith,
 or speak truth? And was not *Athanasius* as
 an enemy to the *Melitians* and *Arians*,
 as they were to him? If then the charges of
 schism ought to be credited, why not of the
 heresies? And *Athanasius* will stand con-
 demned of this first charge if you have no
 arguments to clear him, than that his
 enemies were schismatics, and such as you
 counted his enemies. But how doth
Athanasius clear himself of the crimes of se-
 dition, murders, and sacrilege? Why
 say you: He *insisted that the Melitians* p. 45.
*irregularly ordained, and heterodox in
 doctrine, and highly injurious to those who
 were rightly of the nature of God.* Ridi-
 cule. As though to recriminate was to
 clear one's self; or calling a man an here-
 tic could render him incapable of becom-
 ing evidence against an incendiary or
 murderer. The accusation against *Atha-
 nasius* for sedition, murder and sacri-
 lege, and an accusation made by many
 orthodox Clergymen; and you have but
 E 2 very

very poorly helped him out of the sc
by telling your reader, that he clearly
fended himself against two other ac
tions, which I did not so much as me
Nay it appears that the Emperor h
found the evidence against him stron
that he was at a Loss what Decisi
make; and commanded *Athanasius* to
vent any future occasions of such
bances, by receiving all to comm
under pain of banishment. But yo
offended in that I charged him with
the seditions, &c. and you will have
with some. But had you read the
passage in the historian, perhaps you
have been of my mind. They accus
says he, to *Constantine*, as the cause
seditions and disturbances in the
and as driving away those who we
ling to enter into it, *whereas all would*
if this one thing was granted. * Now
prevents all from agreeing, by ab
denying the one thing that woul
them, may justly be said to occa
those seditions and disturbances, w
the consequence of such a denial.

p. 46.

The next charge, viz. that *A*
spirited up a woman to charge *Euse*
getting her with child, you say
stance of most amazing impudence
storian, and partiality in the relater.
fast good Doctor. How is it you

* Παντας ομολοειν, ει τωτο μοιον ου
Soz. p. 473.

historian's amazing impudence? Why first, he was a bigot to Arianism, and therefore ever ready to support it by lies and fiction. See p. 46, 47. Secondly, he is given up on all hands as an inaccurate and partial writer. Thirdly, his story is the reverse of Ruffinus's, and wholly unattested by all other evidence. But I answer, Photostorgius was a bigot to Arianism, Athanasius and his friends were bigots to orthodoxy, and therefore so far as bigotry concerned deserve no more credit than Photostorgius. And as to his lies and fictions, I would advise you to be silent upon that head, because some of the holy orthodox fathers were themselves a little criminal this way. As to his being inaccurate and partial, perhaps he might have appeared otherwise had we been favoured with his ecclesiastical history at length; and as for the extracts we have of him from Photius, every one who considers the virulence with which an abridger every where treats him, will I imagine be apt to think, that that abridgement is not always accurate and impartial. And lastly, though the relation from Photostorgius be unattested by all other evidence, this is no sure proof that it had no ground at all. For it is not to be supposed that the orthodox would tell the story to the disadvantage of Athanasius; and as for the Arians, the orthodox have taken care to suppress all evidence from that side, and destroying those writings which contained it.

As

p. 48.

As to *Athanasius's* ordination to the
 shoprick of *Alexandria*, which I said
 censured as clandestine and illegal,
 meerrily reply, *His Ordination censured?*
by whom? By *Mr. Chandler* perhaps
such as he. He was accused if you will,
 if he could have been convicted, no doubt
 had been censured. I supposed they who
 cused him censured him, which was all
 I meant. But if you do not like the w
 censured, take that of *accused*. Now
 whom was he accused? Why, some cha
 ed him with one crime, some with anothe
 but all of them in common charged
 with coming to his bishoprick by the
 jury of his ordainers, and that he was so
 from satisfying them upon this head, w
 they desired it of him, that he used
 lence towards them, and threw them
 jayl. And whether the evidence produ
 for these and other crimes was so stro
 or from whatever other cause it proceed
 yet ἀποδοκίμησι καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων φίλων
 οὐκ ὡς κατηγοροῖ *, some of those who
 esteemed his friends became unexpect
 ly his accusers. Of these accusers sev
 were Bishops; and as to the truth
 the accusation, the *Arians* seem gener
 to have believed it †; who asserted,
Athanasius was clandestinely ordained
 seven Bishops, contrary to the opinio
 all the rest, in direct violation of their o
 and that for this reason many of the

* Soz. p. 480.

† Ibid. p. 466.

...ian laity and clergy would not commu-
 cate with him. If these accusations had
 not been against an orthodox saint, and
 made by men suspected of heresy or schism,
 they would be allowed by all impartial men
 to carry some weight, and to justify my
 assertion that his ordination to the bishop-
 rick of *Alexandria* was censured as illegal.
 And though *Gregory Nazianzen*, who was
 an *Albanasian* persecuter, and the *Alexan-*
dan synod, which was of *Athanasius's* par-
 tiality, maintain the contrary; yet as here is
 positive evidence, the impartial reader must
 judge for himself in a matter of this uncer-
 tainty; always remembering that this mat-
 ter might have been set in a clearer light,
 if we had any of the writings of the
 persons to have consulted on this occa-
 sion. But farther when I said, some of the p. 50.
 persons objected to him, he cleared himself
 from them, and as to others he desired more
 time for his vindication, you cry out:
a mixture of partiality and fiction is here!
 Sir, here is no mixture of fiction and
 partiality. Some of the crimes I allowed
 cleared himself of. Do you charge me
 with partiality on this account? I suppose
 not, but for saying that as to others he de-
 sired more time for his vindication. As to
 you are at a loss to find any thing like it
 in the *historians*. But I cannot help your
 ignorance or ignorance. I will find it for
 you and quote chapter and verse for your
 satisfaction. It is in *Sozomen*, p. 480. *Atha-*
nasius

nasius being commanded to make his defence came oftentimes to the place of trial. Some of the accusations he cleared him from: των δε, προς επισκεψιν υπερχεσιν ηντων as to others he demanded more time, a further delay, in order to consider them. this fiction?

p. 52, &c. As to the three next articles you say thing to the purpose, by producing *Athanasius* and *Theodorit*, against the plain assertions of the council; and I am not apt to trust it with every impartial man to termine who are most worthy of credit specially when he hath considered the following paragraph.

p. 56. I took on me to assert, that when *Eusebius* and others laid the whole matter before *Constantine*, he altered his sentiments respect to the transactions of the council at *Tyre*, confirmed the deposition of *Athanasius*, and banished him into *France*. Upon this passage, you thus remark. But *Eusebius then* and others lay the whole matter before the Emperor; and by that means get the sentence of the council confirmed? What truth or honesty can we expect from the man that shall affirm it? To this cruel question I shall make no other answer, but that your truth and honesty or mine are at stake. I appeal to my author. It is *Sozomen* lib. 488. His words are these: *Those who of Eusebius's party went to the Emperor asserted that the synod of Tyre had done wrong in their sentence against Athanasius; and produced Theognius, Maris, Theodorus*

and Ursatius as witnesses that Athanasius
 had broken the sacred cup; and reproach-
 ing him, as the orthodox historian calls it, with
 many other things, they prevailed by their ac-
 cusations. Upon which the Emperor, whether
 he believed the truth of these things, or at least
 thought that the bishops would agree if Atha-
 nasius was banished, commanded him to depart
 to Treves in France. I imagine both these
 reasons prevailed on the Emperor to take
 this step; but that the former did, viz. his
 believing the accusations against Athanasius
 to be true, is as evident as history can make
 it. For the same author tells us, p. 491,
 2. That the people of Alexandria cry-
 ed out and praying for the return of Atha-
 nasius, Antony the Great wrote oftentimes
 in his favour; urging that he (the Empe-
 ror) ought not to believe the *Melitians*,
 but to look on their accusations as mere
 calumnies. But the Emperor was not thus
 persuaded, but wrote to the *Alexan-*
drines, and charged them with madness and
 disobedience, commanding the clergy and nuns
 to be quiet; * affirming that he could not
 change his opinion, nor recall Athanasius,
 condemned by an ecclesiastical judgment,
 but an exciter of sedition. He also wrote to
 Antony, telling him, it was impossi-
 ble should disregard the sentence of the
 council.

F

council.

α μη μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς γνώμης ἰσχυρίζετο,
 μετὰ καλεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον, ὡς εἰσὶν ἡ
 ἀποστολὴ καὶ ἀποδείκνυται. Soz.

council. For, says he, though a few might pass judgment through hatred or affection, it was not probable that such a large number of famous and good bishops should be of such a sentiment or disposition; for that Athanasius was an injurious and insolent man, and cause of discord and sedition. This is evidence as full as can be desired, that the Emperor had a fuller and truer account of the transactions of the council of Tyre than Athanasius had given him. And what is very remarkable is, that Athanasius appears to have been at Constantinople at this very time, and to have had the liberty of making complaints before his enemies, which he desired, and which the Emperor himself allowed as reasonable, in his letter to the council. And yet the saint could not make his innocence appear, even when he had the best reason to complain of the partiality of the judges, nor of any iniquitous measures which oppressed and condemn him. For notwithstanding he had endeavoured to prejudice the Emperor against what they had done, yet those prejudices immediately wore off, when a more impartial report was made to him; he confirmed their transactions, and commended them as a set of wise and good measures.

Bish

* Αρτανιω δε ἀνέδηλωσε, μη οἷος τε εἶναι τὴν συνόδον υπερῖδεν τὴν ἰησοῦν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ οἱ φησι, πρὸς ἀπεχθεῖαν ἢ χάριν ἐδικασαν, οὐκ ἔτι δὲ τὸν τοσαύτην πλῆθυν ἐλλογιμῶν καὶ ἀγίων ἐπισκοπῶν τῆς οἰκίας γινέσθαι γυνῶν. τοῦ Ἀθανασίου ὑβρίσιν τε εἶναι καὶ ὑπερηφανοῦ καὶ χονοίας καὶ σαθρῶς αἰτίον. Soz. ibid.

Bishops, and censured the saint as a seditious, insolent and injurious person, and on these accounts sent him into the banishment he deserved. I do not however deny, what *Socrates* says, that his being farther accused with threatening to sequester the imperial revenues, might add to the Emperor's resentment, and confirm him in his opinion of his insolence and impudence. Upon the whole I would advise you to meddle no more with ecclesiastical history, or if you do, *Take care and remember SÓZOMEN.* P. 44. What you add, that the *Alexandrian* council and the *Younger Constantine* excuse this sentence of the Emperor as intended for his better security, carries in it not the least air of probability, after so express a declaration from himself that he banished him for his insolence and sedition.

And from hence it appears that the charge of *Athanasius's* threatening to stop the corn that was yearly sent to *Constantinople* from *Alexandria*, is neither absurd or incredible. You indeed with your usual P. 59. cry out, *To such an height of malice, such a love of calumny is this author now arrived, that any charge shall stick that is levelled against Athanasius be it ever so absurd and incredible.* If you were not above advice, I would intreat you to look at home, and see whether these are not the very positions that too much influence your own heart. However, this charge against *Athanasius* hath but too good a foundation. Was an accusation of Bishops. You say

F 2 magisterially

magisterially, most probably they were of Melitian faction. But you have said nothing to prove it; and therefore they might be of the orthodox faction. *They were such* Socrates intimates were worthy of credit which you do not really deny; only you add, that the historian says immediately that by this means the Emperor was circumvented or carried away; and that this probably Socrates believed nothing of the truth of. I know not what Socrates thought himself but there is no intimation, that he thought the Emperor was circumvented or carried away as you and the latin translation render. His words are: *τὸ τῷ γὰρ συναρπάγῃς οὐ βίβλεις καὶ εἰς θυμὸν ἀχθεῖς*, the Emperor was hereby hurried away, and excited to anger to denote the greatness of his displeasure and not his being deceived by fraud; therefore the credit he ascribes to the accusation was, not as you affirm, what their office station might give them with unthinking people but what their office and veracity actually gave them with the Emperor himself. On the whole, as this story suits well with the turbulent seditious temper of *Albanus* and as the historian says nothing to discredit it, but intimates that those who charged him with it were worthy of credit, and that the Emperor himself knew him to be an insolent ungovernable man, and actually banished him for this amongst other crimes and could never be persuaded to release him; this charge against him will stand.

you can find some more powerful means
take it off.

As to the selling of the corn that was
for the support of the poor of the p. 60.
arch of *Alexandria*, and putting the
money in his own pocket, which *Athanasius*
accused of: You reply, *Yes; he was*
And what then? So was our blessed
our accused of *blasphemy and treason*.
ould you intimate hereby, that he was
innocent of the crimes charged on him
Christ was? You will find it a difficult
er to prove it. I allow you that some
ian bishops did affirm in their letter to
Julius, that the things charged on *Atha-*
or were false. But should you not have
your reader, that the same historian
in the same place, that the council
Antioch, which consisted at least of nine-
shops, sent also letters of a quite con-
strain to the same pope? And though
Athanasius says that the poor made no
aint of such embezzlement, but re-
the same benevolence as usual, you
excuse me from believing *Athanasius*
own cause, especially as the Emperor
ed the fact, and threatned *Athanasius*
ath for it. It is true *Constantius* did
stances of his brother *Constans* recall
m banishment; you add, *though as* p. 61.
unwillingly; and that had I any
ingenuity or real sense of honour, I
have represented the one part as well
other. What should I have repre-
sented?

sented? What that *Constantius* recalled him? I will then to retrieve my history relate the manner of it impartially. yourself allow, that he did it *as it seems* unwillingly. As it seems! As though there was any room to question it. The fact is, that *Constans* threatened his brother with war if he would not recall *Athanasius Paulus*. Upon this *Constantine* summoned a great number of the *Eastern* bishops acquainted them with the choice his brother had given him, and asked their advice what he should act. Their answer was, that it was better to restore the churches to *Athanasius's* party, than occasion a civil war. And upon this necessity *Constantius* complied. So that the recalling of *Athanasius* was a mere act of force upon the Emperor, and extorted from him, not by the conviction of the saint's innocence, but by the menaces of his brother, and the apprehensions of a civil war, which there was much reason to think *Athanasius* would oblige *Constans* to, in order to recover his bishoprick. When you add, that he was accused by the *Western Bishops*, who could judge with much less partiality and prejudice; I cannot be of your mind. Why with less partiality? What because they were orthodox? Or because they were better informed than you? Why by *Athanasius* and his friends, who with you are in all cases and every

ences, whatever proofs can be produced to the contrary. The *western* bishops all under the influence of the popes of *the*; and one of the reasons why *Julius*, was then pope, condemned the council of *Antioch* which had deprived *Athanasius*, this, that they had not called him to council *. An admirable proof of his impartiality and freedom from prejudice, of theirs who acted under his influence!

to *Athanasius's* *Alexandrian* synod, I p. 62. ded no more than that the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father and Son was here first synodically asserted, stamped as the orthodox doctrine. And you allow this I have no farther concern with your remarks.

to the council of *Constantinople*, which p. 64. for next general head, your first remark on the slip you imagine I have made on chronology; and from hence, you will observe, *one would suspect that Mr.* p. 65. *Miller hath not been much conversant in ecclesiastical matters, but hath now only looked on the works of history, on purpose to rake together error and scandal.* A very candid suspicion, and worthy the worthy Rector of *St. John's* Undershaft. You know however a man must have a beginning, and if such a novice in ecclesiastical history, it is no wonder you should have treated me with
a

a little more good nature and though young and unexperienced as I am apt to think I have cut out enough for the Doctor. As to the council, you should know, that ed men differ about it, and that the liberty to follow my own judgment in this affair. And as to the council itself, I have done them but justice, when I call the creatures of *Theodosius*, and say they convened to do as he bid them, *i. e.* to firm the *Nicene* faith. And so say *Socinus* and *Sozomen*.* He called together a council of bishops who were of his own opinion, *βεβαιωτητος τε ενεκα των εν νικαια δοξαριων* the sake of confirming the decrees of the council of *Nice*. So that you have more than my naked assertion that they were an assembly of men that were at the emperor's disposal, and ready to do what he bid them. Thus far I stand pretty well. But alas for me ! I have unluckily found a fact in confutation of myself. In this place I say the council was all of the emperor's own party, and in another place there were thirty six of the *Maccedonian* party. Unlucky assertion indeed ! However it appears by the history that the emperor first intended to call only a council of bishops of his own stamp ; for the confirmation of the *Nicene* creed was evidently the main job to be done. According

* Soc. p. 264. Soz. p. 711.

out one hundred and fifty of this communion met together. To these were added thirty-six of the *Macedonian* party, a number trifling in comparison with the others, and which would justify the expression that the council was all of his own party; especially as they soon broke up from the council, and so left them literally all creatures of his majesty, and entirely of his own party. And being thus left alone, they named *Nestarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, decreed these excellent things: * viz. All heresies should be condemned, and the bishop of *Constantinople* should take rank next after the bishop of *Rome*. So that all this council were ALL of the Emperors party, notwithstanding my unlucky report about the *Macedonians*. There is nothing worth my taking notice of in your next remarks.

Now proceed to your last article, *the p. 70¹*
and good, the blessed Martyr Archbi-
laud. But in what cause was he a
 martyr? For the purity of religion, the
 meanness of his life, or the liber-
 ty of his country? No: If he was a mar-
 tyr, it was for superstition in worship, po-
 tential riches in the priests, and arbitrary
 government in the prince. On these ac-
 counts the high church clergy adore his
 memory, and offer incense to him as a
 martyr. But do you really think there is

G

one

One Man in *Great Britain*, beside priests of his own complexion, that him either a martyr or a saint? And yet a rigid, bitter persecutor who drove his royal master into streams, as involved the nation in war, and brought the unhappy king self at last to the block. A saint crops off mens ears, and flits their and mangles their bodies with stripes in his private retirement reflects on pleasure, and records it in his diary; puts me in mind, that there are *some worse than crocodiles, who can kill men out shedding a tear at their destruction.*

p. 72.

The charges I brought against him I confess great and many, and supported by evidence as clear and strong as could be desired. As to his being popishly inclined you say it is *senseless*; but yet you deny what I asserted, that he was *se* a friend to the popish faction, that he persecuted the protestants, who could run all his length in doctrine and doctrine, he greatly favoured the *Roman* licks; and though I am intirely persecuting them upon a religious account yet how unbecoming the character of a protestant bishop is it, to oppress, to son, and harrafs protestants for trifles at the same time to protect and countenance papists, those sworn enemies to the

* Berriman's Remarks, p. 3.

not religion and liberties. That your
 blessed martyr did this is allowed by his
 friends and enemies. *L'Estrange*, whom
 doubtedly you will not charge with par-
 tiality against him, says of him: *The Arch-*
bishop of Canterbury stands aspersed in com-
passion as a great friend at least and patron
of the Romish Catholics, if he were not of
the same belief. To which I answer by con-
science: True it is he had too much and long
inured the Romish faction — though not
Romish faith. He tampered indeed to in-
duce some ceremonies bordering upon super-
stition, disused by us, and abused by them.
whence the Romanists collected such a
disposition in him to their tenets, as they
did not only to hope, but in good earnest to
bring him up for their proselyte.* You see,
 he went such lengths as made the pa-
 pists imagine him their own; and though
 in conference with *Fisher* the Jesuit after-
 wards proved he differed from them in some
 particulars, yet as he avowed and practised the
 infamous and cursed part of popery;
 I can, Sir, persecution for conscience
 sake, he was a papist in the worst sense of
 the word.

besides, as piety and the care of religion
 are necessary ingredient in my judgment
 in the character of a martyr; I am at a
 loss how to reconcile part of the Arch-
 bishop's conduct with my notion of reli-
 gion

gion and piety. The forementioned historian tell us †, that the Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* prohibited Revels, Church-ales upon the *Lord's Day*. But *Laud* forced him to revoke that order; and the justices of the peace drew up a petition to the King, shewing the great inconveniences which would befall the country, they were permitted; yet before the petition could be delivered, *Laud* published the King's order the declaration concerning recreations on the *Lord's Day*; where as *Rushworth* observes, *proved a snare to many ministers, very conformable to the custom of England, because they refused to read the same publickly in the Church as was required. For upon this many were suspended, and others silenced from preaching.* Was this the custom of the primitive martyrs? Must men be forced to a profanation of the sabbath? Must the ministers of the gospel be obliged to close the service of God, in the house of worship, with an exhibition to Revels and Church Ales? Or must they be persecuted by suspensions and excommunications for their refusal? Is this your manner and your saint? Rather than be numbered with such saints, *Sit anima mea cum Falsis prophetis.*

As to the case of Dr. *Leighton*, it appears a faithful narrative and representation. The very diary of *Laud* himself con-

* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 196.

the most cruel part of his usage, and therefore leaves no room to doubt of the truth of the other. In it there is this passage, which a man of common humanity could not have wrote without a bleeding heart. *Friday, Nov. 16. He (Leighton) was severely whipt, and being set in the pillory he had one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and branded on one cheek with a red iron. And on that day sevennight HIS WOUNDS UPON HIS BACK, EAR, NOSE, AND FACE BEING NOT CURED, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of his nose, and branding the other cheek.* Did your Martyr record this to justify his relentless cruelty? You, with a spirit like him, tell your reader, *that Laud* P. 72. *is not more rigorous, than Leighton's punishment deserved.* Would you give the world to understand by this, what they must expect when such priests as you sit again in places of power, and that your hands and heart are already prepared for mutilation and blood? I am far from vindicating Leighton's conduct, if the things you mention of his book are true; though the expressions and violences, which had been justified by many of the bishops, were as might have made even a wise man, and by all equitable persons will be viewed as some excuse for the very severest expressions

expressions of *Leighton* against them. However, this I will affirm, that a christi-
 bishop should have had no hand in such
 bloody sentence, and that *Laud* would ha-
 ve acted a much more merciful part if he had
 ordered him to be immediately hanged.
 The Parliament * had a quite different
 sense of *Leighton's* sufferings, and voted that
 the fine of 10000 pounds, and the sen-
 tence of corporal punishment, and the execu-
 tion thereof, and the imprisonment there-
 upon were illegal; and that the archbishop
 of *Canterbury*, then bishop of *London*, ought
 to give satisfaction to *Leighton* for his
 images sustained by his fifteen weeks im-
 prisonment in *Newgate* upon the said bishop's
 warrant.

As to Mr. *Limborch's* testimony, I can
 assure you I am no more a general be-
 liever in him, than in your martyr *Laurence*.
 Great allowances must be made for him as
 a foreigner, and therefore not well acquain-
 ted with the affairs of the *English* history.
 He had also probably an affection for *Laud*,
 because of his embracing the *Arminian* prin-
 ciples, and appearing against the doctrine
 part of popery. However, had his recom-
 mendations of *Laud* been much more
 false, they would have signified nothing
 against the truth of history. As you re-
 sent the matter it amounts to no more
 than that *Limborch* himself was no party
 and commended the letters he wrote.

Vossius. And therefore I have not dealt unworthily by my own author, by painting that imperious prelate in his proper colours; nor indeed can I see any Reason, that because I translated Mr. *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*, therefore I should agree with him in all his characters of men; and especially of those, whose true character I have a much better opportunity of knowing than *Limborch* had. p. 74.

As to your prophetick curse, that my name shall rot amongst the wicked; I shall only say, that *as the bird by wandring, and the swallow by flying, so the curse causeless shall not come*; and that I am of *Plutarch's* mind, who said, *I had rather men should say of me, that there neither is, nor ever was such an one as Plutarch; than that they should say, Plutarch was an unsteady, changeable, easily provoked, and revengeful man.* May I perish ever from the memory of men, rather than be remembered as a tyrannical, haughty, persecuting, relentless, bigotted priest; and if posterity should ever speak of me, may it be as a lover of religion, a friend to the rights of conscience, and an advocate of the civil and religious liberties of my country. This character I will endeavour to merit; and it is the only immortality amongst men that I desire.

Thus, Sir, have I considered your remarks, and I hope cleared myself from the charge of gross misrepresentations of fact. I have only to add, that as you threaten

me

me with due chastisement from other
 I shall be very glad if any learned and
 did divine of the church of *England* will
 me right in any matters wherein I have
 mistaken, and will ingenuously own
 errour when it can be proved upon
 But if any person with your spirit, and
 your stile, shall appear farther against
 he must excuse me if I think him bene
 my notice, and pass him by with that
 tire silence and contempt he will deserve

I am, S I R,

Your's, &c.

